115 622 641 643 whatsoever. But a man often decamps by night taking with him many slaves belonging to his fellow-citizens; he then goes to some influential chief who may be only too glad to give the fugitive ground and to establish him as a sub-chief. Persons who thus leave are dreaded by their former chief, who welcomes every opportunity of diverting or capturing them.[1]

115 599 622 643 641 In this way village headmen, by increasing their following, increased their power against the chief. MacDonald records:

> While a person has acquired several villages, he becomes a higher headman, intermediate between the chief and the owner of a single village. Each headman lives in the village he likes best, and leaves his 'brothers' to manage his other villages. But a headman of great ambition often places his 'brothers' all around him, decides their cases, and practically governs a small kingdom of his own. If he lives far from his chief, one might suppose that he was quite independent. Where a quarrel arises between the chief of the country and an important headman, the latter may rebel, and found a new kingdom, thus depriving the old chief perhaps of one-third of the villages in his dominion.[2]

MacDonald cites the case of Mkanda of Chirulendo, who was at first a headman of Kuhlpuma's but rebelled, and went to live on the southern side of the mountain.[3] He also observes that on the other hand, 'a headman may keep up his chief's authority in a district that the latter could not otherwise hold'.[4] Elsewhere he says:

> In and around his own village the chief of the country is a terrible power, and his government is supported by the most prompt and severe punishments. But in distant parts of his dominions, where influential headmen live, he may be little known, although as a matter of theory he is supposed to settle all grave disputes even in remote villages.[5]

115 643 The history of the Yao chieftaincies in MacDonald's time, and as told to me by my informants, is that of constant division into independent chieftaincies. In the Zulu and Bemba polities a strong state structure included a pattern of civil war and the main-

[1] MacDonald, *Africana*, i. 130-6.
[2] MacDonald, *Africana*, i. 32.
[3] MacDonald, *Africana*, i. 133.
[4] MacDonald, *Africana*, i. 136-9.
[5] MacDonald, *Africana*, i. 134-5.